

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 RABAT 03094 01 OF 02 071028Z  
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04  
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01  
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 IO-13 /091 W  
-----071115Z 095568 /12

P R 070921Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY RABAT  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2117  
INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY TUNIS  
AMCONSUL CASABLANCA  
AMCONSUL TANGIER

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 RABAT 3094

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINS, MO  
SUBJECT: MOROCCO: JUNE 3, 1977 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

REF RABAT 2842

1. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY: MOROCCO TOOK ITS MOST IMPORTANT STEP IN SETTING UP THE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS ENVISAGED BY THE 1972 CONSTITUTION AS 82 PERCENT OF ITS 6.52 MILLION REGISTERED VOTERS WENT PEACEFULLY TO THE POLLS ON JUNE 3 TO ELECT 176 DEPUTIES, OR TWO-THIRDS OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT. THE REMAINING THIRD WILL BE CHOSEN ON JUNE 21 BY COMMUNAL AND RURAL COUNCIL MEMBERS, ELECTED LAST NOVEMBER 12, AND BY PROFESSIONAL CHAMBERS, WHICH HELD THEIR OWN ELECTIONS IN MARCH.

2. THE PRO-GOVERNMENT "INDEPENDENTS" WON 81 SEATS WHICH, ALONG WITH THEIR EXPECTED SWEEP OF THE FINAL THIRD TO BE ELECTED INDIRECTLY, ASSURES THE GOVERNMENT OF A LARGE, IF SOMEWHAT  
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PAGE 02 RABAT 03094 01 OF 02 071028Z

AMOPHOUS, MAJORITY. ISTIQLAL AND THE MOUVEMENT POPULAIRE WERE SECOND AND THIRD, AND A DISAPPOINTED USFP (SOCIALIST) CAPTURED ONLY 16 SEATS.

3. AN EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF PARLIAMENT IS ANTICIPATED BEFORE RAMADAN (AUGUST 15), TO BE FOLLOWED BY THE REGULAR SEMI-ANNUAL OCTOBER SESSION. THE EXPECTED GOVERNMENT RESHUFFLE COULD COME

BEFORE OR AFTER RAMADAN. IN THE MEANTIME, 17 MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT WHO WERE ELECTED TO PARLIAMENT -- INCLUDING PRIME MINISTER OSMAN -- WILL HOLD POSITIONS BOTH IN THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES. ONLY ONE OF THE MANY CABINET MEMBERS RUNNING IN THEIR NATIVE DISTRICTS WAS DEFEATED. OSMAN HAS BEEN WIDELY RUMORED AS THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY'S FIRST PRESIDENT, BUT MIGHT STAY ON AS PRIME MINISTER.

4. ALL MAJOR OPPOSITION PARTIES PARTICIPATED IN THESE FIRST PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS SINCE 1970. "INDEPENDENTS" CONSTITUTED THE LARGEST GROUP OF CANDIDATES, WITH 346 OUT OF A TOTAL OF 906 (INCLUDING EIGHT WOMEN). THE ISTIQLAL FIELDERD 160, THE SOCIALIST UNION OF POPULAR FORCES (USFP) 143, THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PROGRESS AND SOCIALISM (PPS) 85, AND THE PRO-GOVERNMENT POPULAR MOVEMENT 70. SPLINTER PARTIES ACCOUNTED FOR THE REMAINING 10 PCT OF CANDIDATES. RESULTS OF VOTING WERE:

GROUP	VOTES AND PCT	# SEATS
INDEPENDENTS	2.2 MILLION OR 44.6 PCT	81
ISTIQLAL	1.1 MILLION OR 21.6 PCT	45
MP	625,786 OR 12.40 PCT	29
USFP	738,541 OR 14.6 PCT	16
MPCD	102,358 OR 2.02 PCT	2
PPS	116,470 OR 2.3 PCT	1
ACTION PARTY	90,840 OR 1.8 PCT	2

THE LEFT IS UNHAPPY WITH THE RESULTS, AND MIGHT CHOOSE TO BOYCOTT THE PARLIAMENT. THE ELECTIONS HAVE BEEN A SUCCESS FOR THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 RABAT 03094 01 OF 02 071028Z

GOVERNMENT, WHICH APPEARS TO HAVE A SOLID MAJORITY TO WORK WITH.

END SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION

5. GOVERNMENT SATISFACTION. IN A POST-ELECTION PRESS CONFERENCE, MINISTER OF INTERIOR BENHIMA DECLARED HIMSELF "SATISFIED" WITH THE RESULTS, WHICH HE SAID CONFORMED TO THE POLITICAL CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY. HE STRESSED THE BETTER EDUCATION AND RELATIVE YOUTH OF THE CANDIDATES, NOTING THAT MOST CANDIDATES HAD BEEN EDUCATED SINCE INDEPENDENCE AND MET THE KING'S WISH OF INJECTING

NEW BLOOD INTO THE COUNTRY'S POLITICAL LIFE.

6. ISTIQLAL BOOSTED, LEFT SUBDUED. ISTIQLAL WAS THE OPPOSITION'S BIG WINNER. IN PRE-ELECTION DAY MANEUVERING THE GOVERNMENT UNDOUBTEDLY TOOK STEPS TO ASSURE SEATS FOR SELECTED OPPOSITION CANDIDATES, ESPECIALLY ISTIQLAL AND MP. COMMUNIST PARTY CHIEF, ALI YATA, RAN VIRTUALLY UNCONTESTED IN CASABLANCA.

7. THE ONLY REAL SHOCKER WAS THE DEFEAT OF USFP LEADER BOUABID. HE HAD SYMOBLCALLY PRESENTED HIMSELF IN AGADIR, WHERE USFP IS STRONG, BECAUSE OF NUMEROUS USFP DISPUTES WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN THE LOCAL ELECTIONS. THE INDEPENDENTS, HOWEVER, SUCCESSFULLY RAN A FAVORITE SON. DESPITE THEIR OBVIOUS INTEREST IN HAVING BOUABID IN PARLIAMENT, THE AUTHORITIES DID NOT INTERVENE TO AVOID HIS DEFEAT. ALTHOUGH USFP'S 9 PCT SEAT TOTAL ROUGHLY PARALLELED ITS PERFORMANCE LAST NOVEMBER, ITS ABILITY TO CORNER 14.6 PCT OF THE POPULAR VOTE PUT IT AHEAD OF SECOND-RUNNING MP IN THAT CATEGORY, A REFLECTION OF THE RURAL-WEIGHTED SEAT ALLOCATIONS. THE PARTY ALLEGES THAT THE AUTHORITIES SINGLED OUT THE USFP IN VARIOUS WAYS PRIOR TO ELECTION DAY. STRONG INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES WERE RUN AGAINST USFP CANDIDATES, GERRYMANDERING OF ELECTORAL DISTRICTS ERODED MUCH OF THE PARTY'S URBAN STRENGTH, AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES WERE REPORTEDLY PARTICULARLY ACTIVE IN CONTROLLING USFP CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES AND IN "COUNSELING" LOCAL VOTES. BOUABID ANNOUNCED JUNE 6 THAT HE WILL BE LEAVING THE

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PAGE 04 RABAT 03094 01 OF 02 071028Z

GOVERNMENT "SOON" NOW THAT THE ELECTIONS ARE OVER, AND SAID THAT USFP WOULD DECIDE IN A FEW DAYS WHETHER TO WITHDRAW ITS ELECTED DEPUTIES FROM PARLIAMENT. ISTIQLAL ALSO CHARGED IRREGULARITIES, BUT APPEARED MORE THAN READY TO ACCEPT THE RESULTS WHICH GIVE IT A DOMINANT POSITION IN THE OPPOSITION.

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PAGE 01 RABAT 03094 02 OF 02 071109Z

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INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 RABAT 3094

8. PARTY FEUDING. ALL MAJOR PARTY CHIEFS EXCEPT BOUABID AND MPCD'S KHATIB, WHO DID NOT RUN, WERE ELECTED. HOWEVER, PARTY COOPERATION BROKE DOWN DURING THE CAMPAIGN, AND RELATIONS DETERIORATED TO VIOLENCE ON OCCASION. A ISTIQLALI SUPPORTER WAS REPORTEDLY KILLED EARLY IN THE CAMPAIGN BY USFP BACKERS IN BENI MELLAL. MOST OF THE PARTIES' HEATED RHETORIC WAS TYPICALLY DIRECTED AT EACH OTHER, WITH INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES OFTEN THE BENEFICIARIES. THIS DISHARMONY WILL HAMPER THE OPPOSITION'S ABILITY TO WORK TOGETHER ONCE PARLIAMENT IS SEATED.

9. CAMPAIGN PLATFORMS. MOST OF THE PARTIES TRIED IN THE BRIEF TWO WEEK CAMPAIGN TO COME UP WITH PLATFORMS ADDRESSING NATIONAL ISSUES, BUT LOCAL ISSUES AND PERSONALITIES DOMINATED THE CAMPAIGN. EXCEPT FOR THEMES OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY (I.E., THE SAHARA, OTHER CLAIMS), FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES WERE IGNORED. ISTIQLAL TALKED ABOUT AGRICULTURAL AND EDUCATION REFORM, WHILE USFP FOCUSSED MOSTLY ON THE ECONOMY. ALL PARTIES  
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PAGE 02 RABAT 03094 02 OF 02 071109Z

DEPLORED THE CONTINUING INFLATION.

10. SAHARA. OVER EIGHTEEN THOUSAND -- OR 96 PCT OF THE REGISTERED VOTERS -- VOTED IN THE THREE SAHARA PROVINCES, WHERE ISTIQLALI CANDIDATES WON THREE OF THE FOUR SEATS. MOROCCANS WILL SEE THIS AS ANOTHER EXPRESSION OF SAHARA SELF-DETERMINATION.

11. COMMENT: THE ELECTIONS WERE CAREFULLY ORCHESTRATED AND TO A GREAT EXTENT MANAGED, BUT NEARLY ALL OF THE COUNTRY'S POLITICAL ELEMENTS WERE ENGAGED. ALTHOUGH USFP WAS DISCRIMINATED AGAINST BY AUTHORITIES, THE VOTERS DID EXPRESS THEMSELVES. THE LEFT'S COMBINED VOTE TOTAL, FOR EXAMPLE, WAS OVER 850,000. MOROCCO'S MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM MAY NOT FLOURISH IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF TOTAL LIBERTY BY WESTERN STANDARDS, BUT IT OFFERS THE CITIZEN A WIDE SPECTRUM OF OUTLETS FOR EXPRESSING HIMSELF.

12. WITH THE MAJOR PARTIES REPRESENTED IN PARLIAMENT, THE KING CAN COUNT ON SOLID SUPPORT FOR HIS FOREIGN POLICY, WHICH WILL BE IMPORTANT AS INTERNATIONAL FORUMS CONTINUE TO CONSIDER AREA TENSIONS. THE GOVERNMENT ALSO HAS THE MAKINGS OF A SOLID MAJORITY IN PARLIAMENT, ALTHOUGH DISCIPLINING AND LEADING THIS MAJORITY WILL POSE SOME PROBLEMS. AHERDAN'S 29 MP SEATS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AS SOLIDLY PRO-GOVERNMENT, SO THE COMBINED OPPOSITION WILL ONLY BE ABLE TO CALL ON ABOUT A QUARTER OF THE REPRESENTATION, ASSUMING THE OPPOSITION WORKS TOGETHER. THIS

WILL REDUCE THE GROUP'S MISCHIEF-MAKING POTENTIAL, ALTHOUGH IT  
MAY BE HIGHLY VOCAL.

13. THE EFFECT OF THE ELECTION ON LEFTIST ATTITUDES REMAINS TO  
BE SEEN. A REPEATED RATIONALE FOR USFP'S PARTICIPATION WAS TO  
GET THE PROCESS GOING, CREATE A FORUM TO EXPRESS ITS VIEWS, AND  
BUILD A BASE FOR FUTURE ELECTIONS. THERE WAS GREAT RESISTANCE  
TO THIS MODERATE APPROACH IN MORE MILITANT RANKS, HOWEVER,  
AND THESE ELEMENTS MAY NOW ABANDON HOPE OF WORKING WITHIN THE  
EXISTING SYSTEM. THIS BEARS WATCHING OVER THE MEDIUM TERM, AS  
DOES THE HUNDRED THOUSAND-ODD VOTE FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY, A  
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PAGE 03 RABAT 03094 02 OF 02 071109Z

FIGURE WELL BEYOND OUR ESTIMATE OF 4000 PARTY MEMBERS.

14. IN LIGHT OF THE FAILURE OF INDEPENDENT MOROCCO'S TWO  
EARLIER PARLIAMENTS, THE NEW PARLIAMENT MUST SUCCEED IF THE  
YOUNGER GENERATION IS TO SUPPORT KING HASSAN'S CAUTIOUS MOVES  
TOWARDS CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT. WHILE MOROCCO REMAINS  
BASICALLY CONSERVATIVE, TRADITIONAL ATTITUDES ARE BEGINNING TO  
BE QUESTIONED BY YOUTH AND MANY YOUNGER PROFESSIONALS. CLEARLY  
THE SYSTEM MUST EVOLVE TOWARD GREATER POWER SHARING IF IT IS  
TO ADAPT TO THE DYNAMICS OF CHANGE APPARENT IN MOROCCO. A  
HIGHLY ASTUTE POLITICIAN, HASSAN APPEARS TO REALIZE THIS.  
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## Message Attributes

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